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AUTHOR Grygier, Tadeusz
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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the concepts of immigrant assimilation and integration. On the basis of factor analysis it distinguishes between objective integration and subjective integration. Objective integration is defined as actual involvement in the host country's way of life, educational, occupational and economic advancement, and participation in school activities. Subjective integration is defined as feeling at home in the host country, satisfaction, and citizenship aspirations. Data on English, German, Hungarian, and Italian parents of first grade children in Toronto, Canada are reported, and comparisons are made regarding each ethnic group's degree of subjective and objective assimilation. The criteria used to examine all the immigrant groups (with special attention paid to Italians) are educational level, employment, employment of married women, the relationship between schools and parents, child adjustment, involvement in ethnic organizations, and the cohesiveness of extended families. Parent/adolescents that were interviewed. The paper concludes with recommendations regarding immigrant groups and social policy, which stress the need for greater accommodation of ethnic and cultural diversity in society. (Author/APM)

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THE BOTTOM OF THE TITLED MOSAIC:

THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

BY

Tadeusz Grygier

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JUL 2 8 1981

The bottom of a tilted mosaic:

the Italian community in comparative perspective

By Tadeusz Grygier, Centre of
Criminology, University of Ottawa

1. Introduction

As Nathan Glazer*) suggests, the whole world is in the midst of the ethnic revolution. The conflicts between the English and the French in Canada, between the Flemish and the French in Belgium, between the Kurds and their neighbours, between the peoples of Indonesia and of Africa, and between the Protestants and the Catholics in Northern Ireland belong to the same category. As Glazer notes, religion may - in Northern Ireland it does - meet the criteria of ethnicity. The term "ethnic" describes "a social group which consciously shares some aspects of a common culture and is defined primarily by descent".**) "Race" is also defined by common descent, but refers to its biological aspects and to physical rather than cultural characteristics. Religion, as other ethnic groups, depends on ascription rather than on achievement: people are "born into a religion, rather than adopt it, just

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*) "The universalization of ethnicity: peoples in the boiling pot". Encounter, 1975, 44 (2), 8-17.

**) Op.cit., p. 8.

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as they are born into an ethnic group".*)

Nationality in the European sense is a matter of ascription, but in North America (other than Quebec) it is a matter of adoption and acceptance into citizenship. Ethnic divisions are, in general, vertical divisions; horizontal divisions refer to social classes or, when these are extremely rigid and imply "impurity" at the lower levels, to castes. The problem becomes very acute when the horizontal divisions are linked with vertical divisions, and the mosaic becomes tilted, so to speak.

This happened in Northern Ireland, where Catholics tend to be poor and to be the last to be hired and the first to be fired. This was the story of economically and culturally depressed Quebec. This was also the feature of my own country of origin, Poland, where for several centuries we had a "democratic" union of Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia (which later divided into Bielorussia and the Ukraine). At the time of this splendid, powerful and supposedly democratic commonwealth you were treated equally whether you were born in Poland, Lithuania or the Ukraine; but if you belonged to the upper classes, i.e. your family belonged to it or you were granted nobility by the King, you were certain to be a Pole or on the way to assimilation. The true Lithuanians, Bielorussians and Ukrainians were peasants, were glebae adscripti (attached to the soil) and had very few rights. The city

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*) Op.cit., p. 9.

dwellers were of German extraction, or they were Jews. National and ethnic differences coincided with class differences, and this is the reason why the Polish Commonwealth in its old form cannot possibly be restored, and the same goes for the Austro-Hungarian Empire, for the British Empire and the rest.

World War I brought about a revival of ethnic loyalties and the demand that each nation be granted a state and each state become a formal political structure of a nation. The only difference between a "national" and an "ethnic" group is that the nation demands ultimate loyalty, and if one abandons this loyalty one is a "traitor"; but if, as is the case with the modern world, state and ethnic boundaries do not coincide, people have double loyalties. English-speaking Canadians appear to have a single loyalty, to their country; but in fact they are loyal only to their own image of the country, a very "waspish" image. This devotion is shared by British immigrants to Canada, who are most opposed to multiculturalism,*) probably because they "want" everybody to become British and they know that the others cannot do this.

Many French Canadians are more loyal to Quebec than to the Canadian Confederation. Those who are devout federalists are regarded as traitors by "patriotic" Quebecers; those who put Quebec above Canada are regarded as traitors by the rest. There is, of course, no treason in either case, only conflict

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*) Anthony H. Richmond, "Language, ethnicity and the problem of identity in a Canadian metropolis". Ethnicity, 1974, 1, 175-206.

of loyalties and of concepts.

Most immigrants, unless they are totally assimilated into a dominant ethnic group, maintain their link with the past, their ties with their relatives and ethnic friends, their customs and other modes of social control. Canada is, increasingly, a multi-ethnic community. In the last decades one of the largest minorities in this mosaic has been Italian.*)

It has long been taken for granted that different groups of immigrants become integrated within their adoptive society at differing rates and with varying degrees of culture conflict. Integration, in this context, can be defined in operational terms as: "partaking in the life of the country productively (economically and socially) and to one's advantage (making use of the country's opportunities for advancement, its culture, social services and related features)". The reasons for the varying speeds and degrees of success with which this process is accomplished have never been fully understood. This report represents an attempt to examine the multiplicity of characteristics which affect the integration of immigrants, especially Italians, in a host country. It is based on an empirical study carried out in Toronto**) and supplemented by more recent data.

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*) J.B. Rudnyckyj, "The problem of 'unofficial' languages in Canada". In Sounds Canadian: languages and cultures in multi-ethnic society, ed. by Paul M. Migus. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1975, pp. 29-41.

**) T. Grygier and J. Spencer, The integration of immigrants in Toronto. Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, 1966.

Originally, the Toronto study was intended to examine the apparent failure of community services to meet the needs of Toronto immigrants, but it soon became clear that this relationship could not be studied in isolation and that the use or non-use of social services is just one indication of the extent of immigrant involvement in community life.*) The initial focus of the study was, therefore, broadened to include an assessment of the most significant factors affecting the achievement of integration. At the same time, it was necessary to test the operational definition of integration which had been selected for the study.

Four specific groups of immigrants were chosen for the study: British, German, Hungarian and Italian families who emigrated to Canada during a period two to seven years prior to the commencement of the study and in which there were children attending grade one in the local school system. A total of 400 interviews were conducted, including 50 couples representing each of the four ethnic groups. In addition, 27 adolescents (mainly Italian), both boys and girls, were interviewed.

2. The concept of integration

The following definition of integration was accepted

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*) Anthony H. Richmond later took this assumption as the starting point of his research ("Problems of integration and services for immigrants", report prepared for Federal Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa, 1972). See also a penetrating analysis by Edith Ferguson, Newcomers in Transition (Toronto: International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, 1964).

by the UNESCO Conference in Havana in 1956: "a dynamic process in which values are enriched through mutual acquaintance, accommodation and understanding... a process in which both the immigrants and their new compatriots find an opportunity to make their own distinctive contributions". This process is only one of the many which have been fostered in the field of immigration. It is enhanced by the Canadian concept of the "mosaic of cultures" just as assimilation of many cultures in a rapidly changing society has led to the concept of the "melting pot".

In our Toronto study three factors were considered in attempting to assess the level of integration. These were: the degree of involvement, economic, social and educational, each immigrant has with Canadian society; the degree of satisfaction he derives from making use of opportunities, facilities and services available to him in Canada; and the economic and social contribution he makes to Canada as the result of this involvement. The questions in the interviewing schedule were designed to assess the respondent's level of integration in accordance with the operational definition cited above. In the end, analysis of the data, particularly by the factorial method, revealed a more pronounced distinction between subjective and objective integration. We found, therefore, two distinct factors of integration rather than either three or one. The subjective factor consisted of feelings and attitudes about integration; the objective factor was composed of behaviour patterns, such as reading Canadian

newspapers regularly, having friends outside the immigrant's own ethnic group, and making use of Canadian agencies for assistance with problems such as child-behaviour.*)

The relationship between subjective and objective integration was found to be moderately positive (the tetrachoric coefficient of correlation was .35 for men and .25 for women).**) It must be concluded that actual involvement in the Canadian way of life is only slightly connected with the extent to which an immigrant feels satisfied and at home in this country. Some immigrants, particularly those with high expectations, are well integrated according to objective criteria, but measurement of their subjective attitudes indicates that they do not feel integrated. Other immigrants feel at home in Canada even though they are not, by objective standards, integrated. An example of this is the case of the Italian immigrant who adjusts to Canadian life by becoming closely integrated in a fairly isolated Italian community.***)

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*) See Appendix to this author's "Integration of four ethnic groups in Canadian society: English, German, Hungarian, Italian" in Sounds Canadian, op.cit., pp.172-181.

**) Anthony Richmond ("Problems of integration", op.cit.), referring to our Toronto study, assumed that "the greater the similarity between the way of life of the sending and receiving countries, the less effort that the immigrant has to make to adapt which, in turn, lessens the probability of identification with the new society and the likelihood of permanent settlemnt and identification". The mechanism of identification is probably well described by Richmond, but our correlation between objective and subjective integration was nevertheless positive and not negative.

***) This is a general tendency of Italian immigrants, not restricted to Toronto. See L.G. Kelly, "Language maintenance in Canada", in Sounds Canadian, op.cit., p. 25.

Some of the interview questions dealt with objective economic integration, for example, "Are you employed now and are you able to use the skills in which you were trained?" Other questions examined the subjective feeling of being integrated economically: "Are you satisfied with your present job?" The items correlating with the two aspects of integration are listed in this author's paper on "Integration of four ethnic groups in Canadian society".*)

3. Correlates of Integration

(a) The level of education

Education for the purposes of this study was measured in terms of the number of years of formal schooling completed by the immigrant. It is recognized that this method fails to take into account many forms of technical and vocational training, but the method is relatively objective and so more suitable for international comparisons.

The findings indicate that a high level of education does not in itself ensure better integration.**) It is likely, as Richmond has found,***) that prior knowledge or subsequent acquisition of English language fluency enhances "cognitive acculturation"; but linguistic skills are only an aspect of

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*) Op.cit., p. 160.

**) See T. Grygier, Appendix to "Integration of four ethnic groups", op.cit., for details.

***) "Language, ethnicity and the problem of identity", op.cit., p. 203.

education. Successful economic and social (in my terms, "objective") integration is also dependent on an effective knowledge of English or (in Quebec) French, and at the higher occupational level a capacity to read and write in one of the official languages is essential.*) But, when John Goldlust and Anthony Richmond perceptively note**) that a new immigrant without a knowledge of the language of the host country must literally regress to a child-like state until he has mastered the language concerned, one may recall psychoanalytic concepts of creative regression: the re-birth in a new culture may in the end lead to a higher level of creativity, unencumbered by the conventions of the old or the new country. In this respect the Italians, who are among the most handicapped at the start, could gain in the long run; in our data the Hungarians, who were even more handicapped linguistically but not educationally, showed remarkable achievements.

The problem with the Italian immigrants is not only their lack of English - according to Richmond***) only some 39% of them had attended English classes before immigration, in contrast to the proportion of Germans and the Dutch, 90% of whom had attended such classes. The problem is the general lack of schooling and the contrast between the cultures (Latin and

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*) Anthony Richmond, "Problems of integration and services for immigrants", op.cit.

**) "Factors associated with commitment to and identification with Canada". Paper presented to the National Conference on "Canadian Culture and Ethnic Groups in Canada", Toronto, 26-28 October, 1973.

***) "Problems of integration", op.cit.

rural vs. Anglosaxon and urban) that prevents the Italians from acquiring new linguistic and occupational skills.

Healthy objective integration takes place when a good education is combined with the following factors:

1. successful transplanting of skills;

2. fair knowledge of the language;

3. determination to know more about the new environment through reading;

4. willingness to reach out to the receiving society through the formation of friendships with the native population or with members of other ethnic groups.*)

It becomes obvious that a positive relationship does exist between the level of education and freedom from unemployment. This correlation is not as high as might be expected: the majority of male immigrants experience periods of unemployment during the first years after their arrival. Nevertheless the rate of unemployment is higher among immigrants with a lower level of education and among those possessing fewer skills. This affects the Italian immigrant from the rural South more than any other group.

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*) John Goldlust and Anthony Richmond, who used a scale of "cognitive acculturation", related to "objective integration" and defined by correct answers to twelve questions concerning Canadian personalities, symbols and institutions, found that the contribution of education to the variance of acculturation was as high as 20%, considerably higher than of any other factor. See their "Cognitive and linguistic acculturation of immigrants in Toronto: a multivariate analysis". Paper presented to the VIII World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, 23 August, 1974.

The correlation coefficients show that a high level of education has less effect on "subjective integration". In fact, respondents with little formal schooling often claim to find opportunities in the new country even when these opportunities are scarce. Italians often regard themselves as members of the new community in spite of their language difficulties. In contrast with acculturation, Canadian identification shows no correlation with the level of formal education.*)

What problems do Italians encounter, with their relatively low level of education and linguistic skills? Is this situation likely to lead to conflicts? Yes and no, judging from comparative sociological analysis by Walter B. Simon.**) As he says, linguistic tensions "tend to remain unnoticed in their early phases because those affected by language policies are themselves preoccupied with efforts to orient themselves in the hectic pace of a rapidly changing society. Thus we find that recently urbanized, uprooted rural migrants are at first hardly affected by language policies. Usually, language policies will affect them only when they send their children to school, the point at which they must choose between assimilation or efforts to preserve their own language."***)

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*) Goldlust and Richmond, "Factors associated with commitment to identification with Canada", op.cit.

**) "A sociological analysis of multilingualism", in Sounds Canadian, op.cit., pp. 3-22. Simon never mentions Italians, but his penetrating analysis is relevant to our problem.

***) Op.cit., p. 10.

Italian immigrants, especially women, are looking inwards; this creates no conflicts with the dominant group, provided the immigrants make the effort to have their children educated in the language of that group. If they make such effort, they find that their children drift away, develop new loyalties and rebel against parental authority. If they make no such effort, and send their children to the schools of the other official language, as happens in Quebec, they are in trouble all around.

Moreover, as Simon notes, uneducated people have no need for an extensive vocabulary in any language, provided they earn their livelihood by working with their hands. Conflicts arise only in the wake of progress, of universal education that prepare students for public service and other occupations where competent use of language in speech and writing are essential. Italians will have no trouble if they stay at the bottom; if they wish to advance or wish their children to advance beyond the level of unskilled occupations or, at most, skilled crafts, they get embroiled in conflicts both at home and in the community. If most talian parents, as we found in our Toronto study, have limited educational goals for their children, they are wise.

(b) Employment

Careful examination of employment patterns among the immigrant subjects resulted in the following conclusions:

.1. Obtaining employment, an essential part of the process of integration, is affected by the ethnicity of the

immigrants to a much greater extent than was originally assumed. In fact, this ethnicity plays a more influential role than that of education, acquisition of trade skills in the country of origin, or even the acquisition of new trade skills, professional qualifications or an independent business in the host country.

2. Upward occupational or economic mobility does not seem to depend entirely on any single determinant. It is usually desired, but Italians who have moved up the occupational and economic scale and thus have lost their close links with their own community are less happy than those who have not so advanced. As Anthony Richmond notes*) with reference to a study by Danziger **) which was also a sequel to our Toronto study,***) in Italian immigrant families in Toronto the degree of language acculturation exhibited by mothers is closely associated with their attitudes towards children's educational and occupational achievements. In our sample the degree of language acculturation among Italian mothers was almost zero, their attitude to the educational and occupational achievement by their children revealed a low level of aspirations, and when their husbands achieved beyond the norms of the Italian community, the felt isolated and unhappy. There is a

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*) "Problems of integration", op.cit.

**) Kurt Danziger, "The socialization of immigrant children". Toronto: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, 1971.

***) Grygier & Spencer, op.cit.

substantial literature on under-achievers; the example of the Italian family in North America, and the particular example of the classical cultural and intellectual over-achiever, Richard Nixon, show that over-achievers have their own problems, too. The similarity of the Watergate affair to Mafia operations, especially in the organized effort to remove and suppress incriminating evidence, is not quite accidental. Over-achievers are isolated, threatened people - and they are dangerous when in power.

3. Job satisfaction does not seem to increase when immigrants are working for or with people of their own ethnic group. The majority of the Italiansdo this.

4. A strong reciprocal influence exists between the enjoyment of opportunities offered by the new country and the immigrant's subjective feelings towards integration into the local community. The Italians are most appreciative of these opportunities.

(c) The employment of married immigrant women

Our data show that employment, especially in an environment where the majority of the workers are of a different ethnic origin, is a positive factor in the integration of immigrant woemn. These women tend to play a more active role in society than women who are not employed. Other women, Italian in particular, stay at home with their children or visit relatives.

It would, however, be a mistake to confuse integration

with happiness. In fact, there is a strong tendency among the working women in the sample to be dissatisfied with their jobs. On the other hand, a high positive correlation was found between employment and the purchase of a house. The purchase of a house may be regarded as a sign that the immigrant has formed a permanent link to his new country.

(d) The relationship between school and immigrant parents

It was assumed originally that there is a relationship between the degree of integration achieved by the immigrant families and their acceptance of, and involvement in, the Canadian school system.

Although this broad hypothesis was disproved, a contrast was observed between measures of subjective and objective integration. Acceptance of the school system did not prove to be a factor in the objective measure of integration, as it was most often based on lack of knowledge of, or involvement in, the school. Parents who felt integrated subjectively showed a tendency towards acceptance of the school, but this seemed to indicate a non-critical attitude rather than approval. The Italian parents praised the schools but never visited them. On the other hand, immigrant parents who became involved in the school tended to be better integrated on objective measurements than those who did not. Thus the two parts of the hypothesis proved to be unrelated and no finding could support both of them.

(e) Child adjustment

Our definition of child maladjustment was based on the reports of 26 parents, out of the total sample of two hundred families, who indicated concern over their children's adjustment.

Analysis of the indices of integration shows that these parents had a higher degree of objective integration than the group as a whole; on the other hand, they had a lower degree of subjective integration. One can deduce from this that lack of subjective integration indicates a subjective rejection of Canadian values and is not just a result of the composition of the group itself. It follows that families that reject the culture in which they live tend to produce maladjusted children. It is also probable that rapid integration, that is the quick assimilation of the overt characteristics of the new society, may be harmful in the long run: the process of integration may be superficial and the underlying conflicts may still be present.*)

It is also possible that unreported maladjusted children did exist in objectively unintegrated Italian families. Our interviews with Italian adolescents did point in this direction. Our interviews with Italian parents showed that their community preferred to rely on its internal resources rather than on the

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*) See also Ronald Taft, Human Relations, 1963, 16, 279-293. He found that insistence on rapid assimilation correlates positively with anomic attitudes, authoritarianism and dogmatism, while gradual integration, defined as convergence of behaviour and shared norms, correlates with flexibility and independence.

help of Canadian social services. Unreported psychopathology, just as unreported crime, may greatly exceed our statistics. The same applies to educational problems, denied by Italian parents but frequently reported by schools.

(f) Participation and involvement in ethnic organizations

The hypothesis that there would be a negative relationship between integration and participation in ethnic organizations was confirmed; but the four ethnic groups show significant differences in the extent to which they participate in ethnic organizations and in their attitudes towards this participation.

Italian husbands and wives have the largest percentages of participants: 84% of Italian husbands and 86% of Italian wives are joiners. This is seven times greater than the number of British husbands and wives who participate (12% and 14% respectively). Among the German group there were indications of a strong desire to cut off ties with the homeland.

(g) The cohesiveness of extended families

We found that cohesive extended families, typical of the Italian community, are associated with low integration, but this does not necessarily mean that cohesive kinship groups have a negative influence on the quality of integration. In the long run the opposite may be the case. It may well be that the opportunity to develop little Italy in the middle of a metropolis will prove to be a source of strength and support for the Italian community during the process of becoming Canadianized.

If so, then any attempt to speed up the pace of change would have given rise to problems in social adjustment.

4. Parent-Adolescent Conflict

Only 27 teenagers were interviewed, 68% of whom were from Hungarian and Italian families. The study was conducted by a graduate student who had emigrated from Northern Italy. She was treated by the Italians from the South as a foreigner and a "lady", and had the impression that the adults were trying to tell her all the nice things and to suppress any unpleasant incidents; their children were more open. The sample was too small to expect statistically significant results indicative of a relationship between parent-adolescent conflict and the level of integration, either subjective or objective; but out of seventeen aspects of conflict examined, eight were at least suggestive of some association. Of those eight, four suggested that objective integration reduces conflict; four appeared to show that subjective integration increases it.

A comparison of the data on child adjustment and on parent-adolescent conflict suggests (very tentatively) that lack of any realistic attempt to integrate on the part of the parents leads to maladjustment of their children; if an attempt is made, but remains a wish rather than an objective reality, the family problems are postponed, but not entirely eliminated.

It is the pressure of the American society in general and of the United States government in particular that is probably responsible for the obsessive desire of the first

and the subsequent generations of U.S. immigrants to become as American as possible. When every parent is determined that his children become more American than himself, he encourages final rejection by his children.*) Children who reject their own parents tend to reject all authority, and later insistence on law and order is a poor substitute for early conditioning. By that time "cultural sickness" has set in, with a morbid preoccupation with being more American than others,**) and with a paranoid suspicion that "un-American" means evil.

Canada has been spared this policy, which probably explains a great deal of variance between the two crime and delinquency rates; but too much insistence on the value of education may have similar effect if the parents are almost illiterate and their offspring begin to despise them.

The predominance of Hungarian and Italian adolescents in our sample is far from incidental, the Italians being most emphatic about the problems - which were denied by their parents. As Danziger*) notes, conflicts between the generations are more acute in the presence of linguistic barriers between the parents and the dominant community, especially when their own children adopt the language of the host country. This

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*) See Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry: an anthropologist looks at America. New York: Apollo Editions, 1942.

**) See George Feaver, "Wounded Knee and the new tribalism", Encounter, 1975, 44(2), 28-35.

***) Op.cit.

was the situation in our Italian sample, denied by the parents, who treated it as shameful and denied its existence. It is difficult to solve the problem whose existence is ignored.

5. Comparisons between the four different ethnic groups

(a) The British Group - The British group had, on the whole, the greatest advantages with respect to education, language and job skills. Both men and women were generally satisfied with their life in Canada, but they showed no obvious desire to become Canadian (e.g. most of their friends were British, 14% of the men chose ethnic employment, and few took out Canadian citizenship).

Our data confirmed Richmond's findings*) that the British are culturally well-adjusted and economically well off, but many never planned to settle in Canada and do not believe migration has improved their circumstances.

(b) The German Group - The vast majority of the German parents had no more than public school education, but did possess job skills and had some knowledge of English - both of which stood them in good stead. The men appeared to be hard-working, ambitious and fairly independent. Forty per cent still attended ethnic organizations and, contrary to all

*) Anthony H. Richmond, Post-war Immigrants in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967. Later Richmond found the same tendency in well educated immigrants from other countries ("Problems of integration", op.cit.). However, it is the British-born group that is most opposed to multiculturalism.

other findings, the longer the German men stayed in Canada, the less they liked it. A possible explanation was given by a German-born research assistant, who did all the calculations. She was a meticulous woman with a doctorate in sociology from the University of Heidelberg and the fact that there was one negative correlation among seven positive ones did not escape her attention. She not only checked her data "three times" but said that she would have checked them six times if they were any different: she understood the reasons perfectly. She said that in Canada she felt an independent person; in Germany she could not. Before her marriage she was pitied because she had no husband, and therefore no status; after her marriage she became merely an appendage. She could never go anywhere by herself but merely to accompany her husband.

In Canada her situation changed, and the more she felt liberated, the more her husband (by now her former husband) felt frustrated. This, she felt, was a general pattern. German women and their children gained independence and status in Canada, but German fathers lost their power and status and the more this was evident the less they liked it.

(c) The Hungarian Group - Seventy percent of the Hungarian group arrived in 1957; the vast majority of them were able to speak little English, if any. Despite the contrast in language construction, most of them tried hard to learn English and new skills, which required the knowledge of English. The Hungarian parents who learned new skills (14%) and those who

bought a business (8%) became the most satisfied with Canada. As a group the Hungarians considered themselves fairly integrated, although objectively they were not quite as integrated as the German group.

The Hungarian wives, in particular, presented an unusual pattern in that, unlike the women in the other three groups, especially the Italians, they were as integrated as their husbands. A large number of them still held jobs, though fewer than in Hungary, i.e. 70% were employed in Hungary compared to 38% full time and 22% part time in Canada. The working wives appeared to be the most educated, the most ambitious, but also, in contrast to the Italian women, the most dissatisfied with their present occupations. For most of them employment enabled the family to buy a home. It seems that the motive for working was buying a house, not job satisfaction, and that these women would probably have been more satisfied staying at home.

(d) The Italian Group - The Italian group invariably appeared as the ethnic group which differed most sharply from the others, partly because their way of life was so unlike that of Canadians and partly because they chose to remain in the comparative security of the Italian community.

As a group, the Italians were the most homogeneous. Parents appeared to get married young and to have relatively large families. Most had plenty of relatives in Canada, many of whom they saw daily or at least weekly or monthly. These relatives appeared to be a great source of strength - for

advice on child care, for financial help, for babysitting, and so on. However, the Italian group began life in Canada with several major disadvantages - such as lack of experience in urban living, lack of formal education, lack of occupational skills, and lack of English - most of which the majority of them never overcame. As Richmond*) notes, lack of experience in city life leads to maladjustment and to limited use of available social services, which are but inadequately provided by the network of relatives. The children in Grade I were already a year behind in schooling. As a result the Italian group suffered an overwhelming degree of unemployment, and many wives (34%, compared to 8% in Italy) had to work full-time to augment the family income. The least ambitious appeared to be the most satisfied, and the most ambitious the most frustrated. Many sought other satisfactions - such as buying a house or joining Italian recreational organizations. Only three couples really attempted to learn English. The rest remained in their ghetto-like Italian community - feeling somewhat integrated, yet, objectively speaking, remaining outside the general flow of Canadian life. Teenagers revealed in interviews that they were beginning to feel this contrast but none of them had protested openly as yet.

When we asked the parents: "Where would you seek advice if you had great difficulty with your children's behaviour?"

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*) "Problems of integration", op.cit.

- the Italians tended to say that they would go to their relatives for help. This choice is certainly consistent with our observations elsewhere on the cohesiveness of the Italian kinship group and its usefulness as a source of mutual aid and social control. It is quite likely that this cohesiveness correlates negatively with the use of social services and of other opportunities in the host country. At the same time, it should be recognized that this very fact may also have inhibited the Italian families in reporting any trouble with their children.

In the Italian community in particular the opposite of Canadian identification may often be alienation rather than Italian identification. Complete uprooting does not foster new identity; it only destroys the old one. Visits to the old country, on the other hand, enhance both identities, old and new. They enrich and revitalize the immigrant, make him a more creative member of the host country, and reduce alienation, which is the curse of the twentieth century.

It is probably true that Italians tend to equate the retention of traditional values with the cohesion of their group, especially by keeping family ties over several generations.*) These ties often bring them back to Italy, they maintain "little Italies" in Canadian metropolitan centres, and they lead to rebellion in the young generation of Italians. In this sense

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*) L.G. Kelly, op.cit., p. 25.

the Italian community, perhaps more than any other ethnic group in Canada, typifies what Wsevolod Isajiw*) calls three patterns, or stages of maintenance of ethnic identify: (a) transplantation of the old culture, which is an attempt (never entirely successful) to continue the institutions and habits of the country of emigration, (b) rebellion pattern, typical of the second generation, which may be associated with embarrassment and dissatisfaction with one's parental patterns and expectations, and (c) the "returning" or rediscovery pattern, which may span several generations and in which the old culture acquires a new meaning. In my view, visits to the old country enhance Isajiw's third pattern, but they also add new dimension to Canadian identity.

According to the Canadian Identification Index developed by Goldlust and Richmond, Italian immigrants acquire Canadian identification more slowly than other ethnic groups; but the Index treats Canadian identification and loss of Italian identity as a one-dimensional continuum.**)

This may be a mistake. In psychology introversion and extraversion are also generally regarded as one personality dimension, although more subtle studies show that various aspects of what is commonly called introversion and various aspects of extraversion can be measured separately and are almost unrelated.***

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*) "The process of maintenance of ethnic identity: the Canadian context". In Sounds Canadian, op.cit., pp.129-138.

**) "Factors associated with commitment to and identification with Canada", op.cit.

***) See T. Grygier, The Dynamic Personality Inventory. (London: National Foundation for Educational Research, 1962) and T. Grygier and P. Grygier, "The dynamic approach to personality assessment", Vol.I (Windsor, Eng: National Foundation for Educational Research, in press.).

6. Suggestions for social policy

It is apparent that there is need for a greater understanding of the diversity of cultural patterns among the different ethnic groups that comprise the immigrant population of an immigrant country. The distinction between objective and subjective integration may contribute to such understanding.

By objective standards, the British group was integrated from the start. Subjectively they were less integrated and many felt that they did not belong to Canada, on the contrary, Canada used to belong to them; but later this ceased to be the case. This attitude provides a sharp contrast with the pattern of the Italian community which perpetuates the neighbourhood life and the cohesion of an extended family of a Southern Italian village within a large city. The contrast has important implications for policy, especially with regard to the pace of change and integration.

One might be tempted to denigrate any policy which encourages the persistence of a foreign village in a metropolis. It appears to run contrary to an effective immigration policy and to retard integration into the new society. However, this slow pace of integration carries with it some highly desirable consequences. The kinship group and the ethnic community stabilize and regulate the behaviour of its members in keeping with their well-established norms and customs. Particularly for a group whose original way of life is as different from the Canadian as is the Italian, lack of this control might cause

personality strain or the well-known symptoms of social maladjustment.

The greater is the difference between the immigrant's way of life and that of the community into which he settles, the greater becomes the pressure for integration and, finally, assimilation - and the greater the conflict of cultures. What Thorsten Sellin*) said of the consequences of such conflict for crime and delinquency before World War II is still largely true to-day. If the contrast between the two patterns of living is great, we may have what Alvin Toffler**) has called "culture shock". This, in his words, leads to bewilderment, frustration, disorientation, a breakdown in communication, a misreading of reality and an inability to cope. "Yet culture shock is relatively mild in comparison with the much more serious malady, future shock. Future shock is the dizzying disorientation brought on by the premature arrival of the future".***)

For any technologically udnerdeveloped group a transfer to a great metropolis, with its congestion and modern technology, the "future" always arrives prematurely. The problem is

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*) T. Sellin, Culture Conflict and Crime: A Report of the Subcommittee on Delinquency of the Committee on Personality and Culture. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938. See also S. Shoham, "The application of the 'culture conflict' hypothesis to the criminality of immigrants in Israel", Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 1962, 53, 207-214.

**) Alvin Toffler, The Future Shock, New York: Random House, 1970

***) Ibid., p. 13.

compounded if the transfer is to a foreign culture, with a different language and totally different, if any, traditions.

We live in an era of rapid change, in a four-dimensional world. Changes brought by time and those resulting from dislocation are cumulative: time and space are interchangeable. The more the tempo of social change increases, the more confusion there is about the social roles our children are expected to play. Their loss of identity and anomie*) increases when to this is added the pressure of a new society to abandon the old culture and adopt the new. Thev particularly increase if the new culture is a state of flux, so that there is pressure to assimilate and yet no pattern to follow.

The attempts to mold different ethnic groups into a "nation" are likely to be futile and oppressive. They have failed even with respect to the native people of North America and I have suggested that instead of forcing them into White Canadian patterns we should accept Indians and Eskimos as they are, and modify our expectations and patterns of education and employment to suit them.**) In fact, instead of the principle of behaviour modification which, in a wide range of forms, has been practiced with respect to all minorities and other relatively powerless groups, we should adopt the principle of

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*) See Emile Durkheim, Le Suicide. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967, 461 pp., and Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: Free Press, 1957.

**) T. Grygier, "Crime and social policy in Churchill. Ottawa: Centre of Criminology, University of Ottawa, 1972.

behaviour acceptance and situation modification.

Immigrants from the rural South, of Italy and of other countries of Europe, the new immigrants from the Canadian North and from Indian reserves, are under enough pressure if they are to adjust to city life. In many cases the effort to adjust and to integrate economically produces identification with Canada as a country of opportunity, an identification that is lacking if "objective integration" is effortless; but there are limits beyond which the effort becomes futile and the process disfunctional.

A policy of assimilation results in treating the parents as inferior - since they assimilate less than their children - with disastrous consequences for the development of character in the younger generation and for respect for authority, law and order. It results in treating the most dissimilar ethnic groups as inferior to those which are similar or easier to assimilate. It gives no chance to Blacks, who cannot change the colour of their skin, and to other people of different races and exotic cultures. What should be an enriching ethnic mosaic becomes an oppressive mosaic, in which the different ethnic groups feel daily insulted for their alleged non-conformity to the patterns of the dominant group.

In the United States, where the pressure for assimilation is very strong, there has recently been an intensification of ethnic identity and a reaction against all types of discrimination, real and imaginary, direct and implied. It is

significant for the understanding of the power structure in the Italian community in the United States that the mass protest of some 100,000 people in New York against the alleged implications of the film "The Godfather" that all Italians are gangsters was organized by the boss of Mafia, Joseph Columbo.

A minority lacking legitimate symbols of power will idolize illegitimate symbols rather than admit powerlessness. Following on the footsteps of Black Power the movement of "ethnic power" is increasing in the United States and - less vigorously because there is less need for it - in Canada.

The policy of building a single "nation" and of ignoring the cultural variety of ethnic groups - or nations - is not confined to North America. It dominates the new countries of Africa and, despite official protestations, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Depending on the fortunes of war, Soviet propaganda tended to confine the definition of "nation" to Russia or to embrace all other ethnic groups in the concept of the "Soviet nation".*)

This policy was criticized by Alexander Solzhenitsyn in his Nobel Prize lecture:

> The disappearance of nations would impoverish us no less than if all people had become alike, with one character and one face. Nations are the wealth of mankind, its collective personalities. The tiniest of them wears its own special colours and bears within itself a particular facet of God's purpose.

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*) A book "Soviet propaganda in World War II" was written by this author in Polish on the basis of political, linguistic and statistical analysis of the Soviet press. It was being translated into English for publication when the Polish government in exile in London ceased to be recognized by the Western powers.

As in Solzhenitsyn's lecture, the idea of "nation", proud and entirely independent, still has a sentimental ring; but in many multi-ethnic countries it is becoming progessively confused and out of date. It is being replaced by the concept of ethnicity.

The generation gap has affected most countries to a varying degree. Up to a point it may be functional and may contribute to progress, to new value systems, adapted to technological development, replacing old values that may have become obsolete. But a generation gap that leads to loss of identity and of values cannot possibly be functional. At this stage it creates a mental health hazard for both generations. According to Dr. Victor Szyrynski,*) the generation gap is particularly conspicuous in the new societies, where it thoroughly uproots the younger generation, separating the children from their families and their community. Dr.Szyrynski, as a psychiatrist specializing in community therapy, recognizes the inherent danger in the concepts of assimilation and the "melting pot". These are the concepts in which the old cultures have to melt, as rapidly as possible, in favour of the allegedly superior new alloy. These are the concepts which, in his words, lead to "the complex of betrayal", frequently found among immigrants forced to renounce their own cultural traditions.

The opposite of the melting pot concept, that of a multicultural society, does not avoid strains; but it does

*) "Motivation for self-expression of cultural groups: the need for a distinctive identity". Paper read to the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights, Toronto, December 13-15, 1968.

offer a society of many roots and of respect for these roots. A society characterized by mutual respect between different cultural groups and different generations is, in my view, more healthy. A social policy that allows different immigrant cultures to perpetuate in tolerant co-existence is less likely to lead to loss of self-respect and to its correlates: crime and neurosis.